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WAR & PEACE

Cold-war statesmen jittery over cracks in economy

THE Western world which entered 1951 in what the **New Statesman & Nation** called "an atmosphere of near panic" left it, according to the N.Y. **Times**, "in a mood of hopefulness." The cheerful platitudes of cold-war statesmen and publicists could not conceal that their uneasiness has grown.

President Truman, "smiling and fit," returned from a home-town Christmas to map next year's budget—estimated at $80-90,000,000,000 or more. Discounting talk of "cutbacks" urged by political advisers, and terming rearmament still "in the embryo stage," **U. S. News** (Dec. 28) predicted the nation would spend at least $139,000,000,000 more on arms for "a guaranteed boom" lasting "as many years ahead as anyone can see."

SLIPPED COGS & PORTENTS: The N.Y. Commerce & Industry Assn. meanwhile surveyed nine basic fields and found "more indecision and apprehension than optimism." The report of the Natl. Assn. of Cost Accountants was "downright gloomy" (N.Y. **Herald Tribune**, Dec. 30). The **Journal of Commerce** (Dec. 24) found that "the optimistic prophesies of a short 12 months ago have gone sour. The gears of our economy have slipped a cog somewhere." For the short-range outlook, it was reassuring: "It is always darkest just before dawn." In the long range—"a horse of a different color"—

> . . . many of the older generation who cut their eye teeth in the Great Depression and had their illusions of a New Era rudely shattered are becoming fearful of the shape of things to come.

The Los Angeles **Daily News'** J. A. Livingston thought that if it weren't for rearmament "the U. S. would be in the middle of a full fledged recession. The proof is that business should be better—much better—than it is." The Bank of Manhattan's Murray Shields told the American Statistical Assn. that all-out peace in 1952 might lead to an "old-fashioned business depression."

THE GREAT ILLUSION: Behind big business's troubled year-end musings was the fact pointed out in the December Washington Memo of the New Council of American Business: "Military expenditures . . . are by themselves no assurance of sustained prosperity." Noting the fears of Gen. Electric's Philip Reed and others in the "go-slow"

business group, who want to eliminate the "humped peak" in military spending schedules and the recession they fear will come when the peak is passed, the Council doubted that even "a 'planned' military procurement program, with a steady flow of government buying, could really keep the economy stable."

Despite military expenditures which reached an annual rate of $38,000,000,000 in 1951's last half, the industrial production index at the end of 1951 was right where it was a year ago. The weakness of the economy's civilian sector was reflected in the 35% drop in production of consumer durables since June, 1950, without any resulting shortages in retail markets. A Dept. of Commerce survey last week highlighted the growing imbalance between productive capacity and consumer demand.

VANISHING DOLLAR: In the past six years, the Dept. found manufacturers' investment in new plant has about equaled the book value of their entire capital assets in 1945. In other words, since 1945 U. S. industrial plant has grown by 75% while the people's ability to buy its products has steadily shrunk. Paying higher taxes even than during World War II, and with a food dollar shrunk in value to 43c, consumers were promised yet higher prices and taxes in 1952.

Business investment in new plant, major prop of the post-war boom, will be the highest yet in 1952's first quarter, said the Commerce Dept. But this investment cannot be maintained: much of it represents expansion originally intended for later years; already U. S. production is more than ample to meet consumer demand even at a time when consumer income in dollar terms is at its highest point.

Canard Enchaine, Paris

"Okay—either cease fire, or cease the cease-fire or cease the cease-the-cease fire!"

"DYING" KOREA WAR: Adding to business uncertainties was Korea, where against the will of the generals the war was apparently "slowly dying" (**Newsweek**). Truce talks entered their seventh month; the 30-day truce line agreement expired, but neither side had resumed large-scale fighting. **Newsweek** (Dec. 31) acknowledged that the war had reached a stalemate last June and either "had to be broadened in order to reach a decision or a truce had to be arranged."

U. S. admission of a stalemate was new (the stalemate was admitted before the MacArthur hearings last spring but the other side's truce offer apparently produced illusions). The more realistic view seemed to have been induced by the failure of the U. S. ground offensive begun last August, and of the Operation Strangle air offensive, to achieve significant success. Of the latter Hanson Baldwin wrote (N.Y. **Times**, Nov. 29):

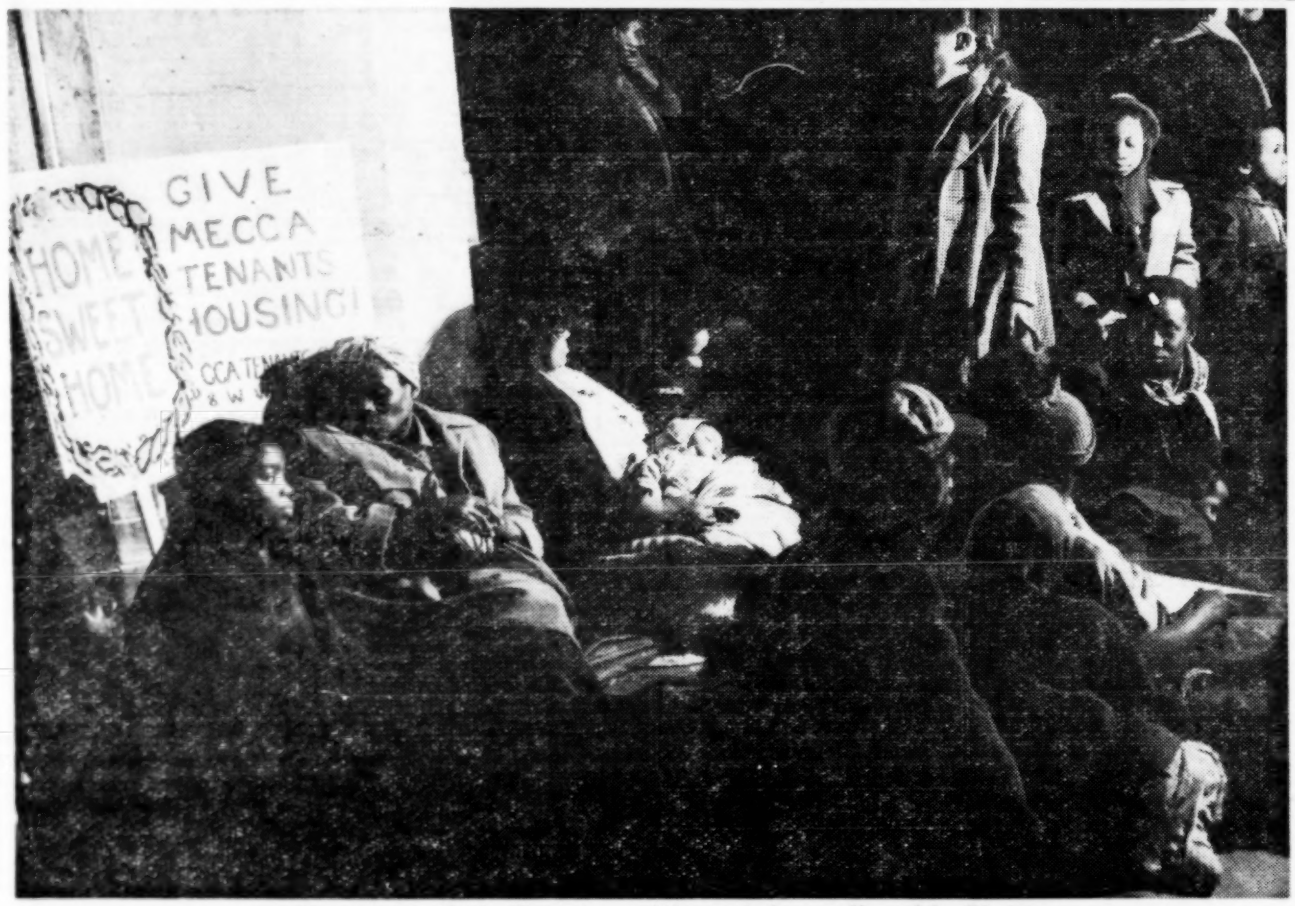
> There is good reason to believe that the enemy is as strong if not stronger than he was when the interdiction and isolation campaign started.

FOR CHIANG—A HALO: Negotiators at Panmunjom last week were still deadlocked on the issues of war prisoners and armistice enforcement. David Lawrence (N.Y. **Herald Tribune**, Dec. 24) wrote of the talks:

> . . . The thing that stands out is the mental brilliance and alertness of the Communist negotiators, particularly the Chinese. . . . [They] have a better understanding of the American mind than our representatives have of the Communist mind . . . the Communists seem to have accurate reports on the state of American public opinion.

Despite new threats of a breakdown, prospects were for continuation of the talks, while reports from the UN General Assembly in Paris indicated the State Dept. was again worrying about the "difficult problems" a Korean settlement would create. The N.Y. **Times** (Dec. 24) reported that the U. S. would not budge on its "naval quarantine" of Formosa and opposition to China's entry into UN. (Peking reported that the U. S. was transporting Chiang Kai-shek's troops, 70,000 so far, to Thailand for use on China's southwest border. On Formosa Maj. Gen. Chase, U. S. military mission chief, refused comment but in a New Year statement called the U. S. and Chiang "equal partners in the fight against the evil of communism.")

(Continued on Page 3)



. . . endowed by their Creator with certain unalienable Rights . . .

Among these rights, for these Chicago citizens, is the right not to have a home. Here several fugitives from houses unfit to inhabit are sitting down in the lobby of City Hall to tell the mayor they want a decent place to live. See p. 5.

The "European Army"—with and without sugar

How Washington sugars bitter pills it wants its "allies" to swallow, then washes off the sugar when arm-twisting has reduced the victims to groggy near-submission, is illustrated in this **Observateur** (Paris) chronicle of the "European Army" as it was first proposed and as now presented:

	WITH SUGAR (Oct. 27, 1950)	WITHOUT SUGAR (Nov. 27, 1951)
NATIONAL CONTINGENTS	To be contributed on the basis of 6,000-man "combat teams" (Germany: battalion strength).	43 national DIVISIONS (12,000 combat troops each plus twice as many service troops)—14 French, 12 German, 12 Italian, 5 Benelux.
GERMAN OFFICERS	None over battalion commander rank; no generals, no gen. staff, no representation on European Army staff.	German divisions commanded by German generals and German gen. staff. Germans on E. A. staff with same rights as others.
GERMAN CONTINGENTS	To be "lost" in the European forces.	Resurrected Wehrmacht gen. staff "offers" its contingents to E. A. gen. staff.
PROPORTION OF GERMANS	To be 1 to 7.	German gen. staff participates in working out Atlantic strategy. Proportion of Germans in E. A.: 28%.

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THE MAIL BAG

Wallstreetshires

NAMPA, IDAHO

Some centuries ago bull-fighters discovered that a red piece of cloth waved before a bull's eyes incited him to charge and give battle.

A couple of decades ago a bull with a mustache named Adolf discovered that red bait or smear waved before people was a simple and easy way to get them to retreat from peace and charge headlong into unlimited taxation and a war they did not want.

It proved such a good trick while it lasted that not many months after the bull had his turn, hogs took it up—big fat ones, "Wall-Streetshires."

In case the reader is not up-to-date on pigology, "Wallstreetshires" are distinguished from other breeds by the shape of their snout, which is a cross between a gun barrel and cash register. Also they are unique in their diet, which requires great sackfuls of daily fresh $-brand manna, made from equal parts of tears, sweat and blood.

Another characteristic they are noted for is their fleetness of foot. With the greatest of ease they can change from an elephant's gait to a donkey's (or vice versa) and never miss a step. **Floyd Mattson**

Supper money

PALO ALTO, CALIF.

The $10 is a wish-it-were-more contribution from Palo Alto club of the L.P.P. Two of our members worked very hard producing a wonderful old-fashioned supper. The proceeds were such that they suggested ten of it to go to N.G., which is foremost in our reading matter. **Betsey Fisher**
C. E. Palmiter

The vital information

WOODSTOCK, N.Y.

Please send the GUARDIAN for 52 weeks to Dr. ——— ———. I am sure that she will find the GUARDIAN helpful, as do so many of us, for its remarkably brief and comprehensive survey of world events, which American progressives find important, and on which they must be accurately informed.

Mary Van Kleeck

For Sam Jordan

BAYONNE, N. J.

When I told some folks that the Governor signed a paper to send my boy, Sam Jordan, to Georgia, and that I sent a telegram to the Governor to ask him to let my boy stay here in peace, they said that I should write to your paper and ask if you would print my telegram so that other folks who believe in God and justice could see it. When they see it maybe they will send a telegram, too, to save my boy. This is the telegram (to Gov. Driscoll, Trenton, N. J.):

"You signed a paper to send my boy, Sam Jordan, to Georgia. They say that 5 years ago my boy, who was 17, and four other men stole a couple of bags of seed peas. My boy's boss and his brother who are white were freed but not my son or the other Negro men.

"He has been with me in Bayonne now close on 5 years. He works for Old Golds for four years.

"I ask you for a present—that my boy can stay here so we can all live in peace."

I hope you will print this for a mother whose heart is breaking. God bless you and the people who are helping me now.

Mrs. Georgia Jordan

Sam Jordan was to have been extradited to Georgia last month; the Civil Rights Congress which is fighting the case obtained a delay until Jan. 3. Ed.

Reverse lend-lease

TORONTO, CANADA

I am indeed happy that there is at least one influential voice in the U.S. which speaks for reason and not alone with passion. The panic and frenzy which the U.S. press displays, and which it and your government foments, is a source of alarm to thinking Canadians. We know that as a U.S. satellite it is only a matter of time until we import the panics and lust for war that grips your country.

Believing the cause of world peace can best be served by stopping these threats at their source, I enclose $20 for your sustaining fund. More will follow from time to time. Call this lend-lease in reverse if you will, for if ever a people needed help certainly Americans need all the rest of the world can spare.

William Condie

How crazy can you get dept.

Most recent—and most sensational—of these reports is that there is some sentiment for the appointment [as Japanese ambassador to the U.S.] of Prince Nobuhito Takamatsu, brother of Emperor Hirohito. There is no evidence, of course, that the Prince would accept such an appointment . . . but designation of a ranking member of the Imperial House would be a dramatic move to show the world that Japan is becoming truly democratic.

N. Y. Herald Tribune, Dec. 9

(Sender of each item published under this heading gets a free one-year sub.)

A guy named Joe

CHICAGO, ILL.

I have sent this letter to President Truman, Dean Acheson, Trygve Lie and the Chicago Daily News:

"Today I have the great joy to have given birth to my second son, a 7-pound little guy named Joe.

"My delight in this miracle of creation, so ordinary and so extraordinary at one and the same time, is only dimmed by the knowledge that the sons of other mothers are daily being destroyed in a senseless, purposeless, corrupt war in Korea. There is yet time to negotiate a truce. Nothing must stand in the way of a peaceful settlement."

Florence Ziner

One, two three

JACKSONVILLE, MO.

I wish to join with other GUARDIAN readers in taking a militant stand in defense of our Constitutional rights. In answer to the vicious McCarran and Smith Acts, I propose the following:

1. Create a Guardian Xmas Club by sending the GUARDIAN $5 or more in subscriptions or as a gift (check enclosed).
2. GUARDIAN readers in each state organize a state peace committee to take a real stand for peace. (Missouri readers wishing to help organize state peace committee please contact me).
3. Write to your Congressman and demand that he act to accept a cease-fire in Korea, and to repeal the McCarran and Smith Acts.

John L. Widener
Route 3

Dick Tracy in Moscow

STOCKBRIDGE, MICH.

I think that for downright silliness the enclosed is about the limit.

Comic Book Showers Urged for Russia

CHICAGO, Nov. 28 (INS) — A magazine publisher suggested today that the state department shower Russian children with comic books to indoctrinate them with democracy through special adventure stories.

Leverett Gleason said he has spent years studying the psychological effects of comic books on children and pointed to their successful use by military forces.

The Russians are familiar with the American comic and pseudo-science magazines and these magazines have been pictured and described in Soviet juvenile magazines, where they have been ridiculed and credited as being instigators of juvenile crime in America.

The Soviet juvenile magazines are beautiful publications, about like our better Sunday school papers, or possibly more like the old "American Boy", "St. Nicholas", or "Youth's Companion". The Russian juveniles publish much in praise of Lenin and Stalin, just as American publications tell about Washington, Lincoln, Grant, and Roosevelt—but quite as much about Pushkin and other figures of Russian literature, art, science, and invention.

Archer P. Whallon

Nature of man

NEW YORK, N.Y.

I remember as a boy in school how important it was for us children to read about old bloody wars. On the pages of the books kings and generals were honored with their pictures. There were other pictures, also, of the battlefield where hundreds of soldiers lay dead. The reading was about how brave the kings and generals were in the wars. It did not say much about the boys on the ground.

When I became older I thought to myself: What for, all the honor? Would it not have been wiser for the generation to come if it had been explained to the children in a different way?

I can hear some one say, it is only human nature to fight. If so, it is because the real human values and intelligence have not yet been awakened. Man has a conscience and therefore is the highest in God's creation, and above the nature of animals. **John Larson**

Here on earth

FRESNO, CALIF.

It was an accident—how I found out about the GUARDIAN. One night, while waiting for the bus to go home I happened to look down on the sidewalk and picked up a little paper rolled up. I read it all, every bit of it.

I will do my best to get others to know about it. Let's get together, all the people, we want peace. We want a good life now on earth, not after we are dead. Hell and Heaven are right here on earth. The masses of people have known only hell so far.

Sammy Tromba

Yawps and yawpers

NASHVILLE, TENN.

A striking example of America's moral breakdown (in the "upper" strata) is Time magazine's recent estimate of America's greatest poet, Walt Whitman, as "an anarchic old yawper." But considering this propaganda mag's ownership (Morgan and Rockefeller) and the great and fearless Whitman's unselfish lifetime consecrated to justice for the masses of mankind—need we be surprised at this puny journalistic prostitute yawper's yawp?

I, for one, look confidently forward to the time when Americans will awake, and Time shall be no more. **Robert Ramspeck**

Victims of Injustice

MILWAUKEE, WISC.

The Citizens Aid Club has been organized to provide assistance to the victims of injustice and oppression and their families, such as Mrs. Rosa Lee Ingram, the Francis Grayson family, Mrs. Willie McGee, and many others, locally as well as nationally.

Rev. N. McFee, FR 4-1260
Mrs. Marguerite Youbles
3756 W. Stevenson St.

The way it is

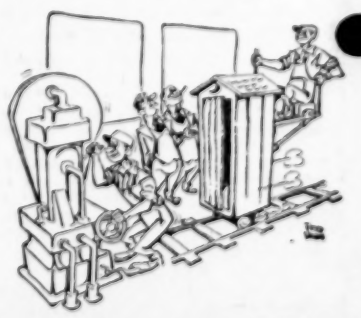
MARTINS FERRY, O.

It is reported that we now have approximately 62 million employed. Of this number, organized labor claims a membership of approximately 15 million. Because many members of labor organizations are paid two, three or more bucks an hour, the impression is becoming widespread that all American labor is "highly-paid."

I submit that the 47 million unorganized workers have to work wherever they can get a job and at whatever wages and under whatever conditions the employer may dictate. I happen to be one of the 47 million. I'm working 40 hours a week for less than 40 bucks. I'm "2-DO" to get a job anywhere else, and my employer knows it. I need a truss and a pair of work shoes, but will have to cut down on the feed bill to get them.

I'm sorry, but that's the way it is. However, if you can keep your nose above water until then I'll make an honest effort to help you as much as I may be able.

George F. Curry



UE Steward

"No sir. . . . No lost motion in this plant. . . ."

REPORT TO READER

Americas peace congress starts new year right

THIS is what **U. S. News & World Report** has to say on the outlook for 1952:

Times will be good, probably the best ever. People, generally, will be well off. Worries will be few, degree of contentment rather high. Men in service, as a rule, will do the real sacrificing.

That final sentence in the olympian telegraphese of **U. S. News** certainly touches on the facts of life. As six wounded GI's fr[om] mid-west states wrote the other day to the Chicago **Tribune** fr[om] a hospital in Korea:

In only three months I've seen more than I can hardly stand. . . . About eight or ten boys over here I heard talking, pray they will get shot (not a bad wound) so they may go into a hospital. Isn't that something, when your boys want to get shot? Some fellows (there are tents full of them in Korea) say they are going nuts. . . . I don't blame them, this thing over here can drive anyone nuts. . . . We pray for peace, but that is all we can do over here. Can't someone help us?"

Let us enter 1952 facing the fact that the Korean "police action," whatever happens to the truce talks there, is only the curtain-raiser to what the war gang in Washington has in mind. What will be our "degree of contentment" in face of the sacrifices that more and more young American cannon-fodder will be called upon to make "as a rule?"

Unless peace is restored as the guiding motivation of U.S. policy, times will be far from good for all except the arms profiteers; disaster lies ahead for everyone.

ONE light is already on the horizon for the first month of the New Year. From Americans of all the Americas will come a powerful call to peace at the American International Peace Conference in Rio de Janeiro Jan. 22-26. We earnestly direct the attention of North Americans of goodwill to the call to this conference signed by supreme court justices, trade unionists, diplomats, poets, artists, teachers, farmers, priests and ministers, inviting "all who sincerely want peace, whatever their political opinions, religious beliefs or ideas as to the origin of the existing crisis" to participate.

For U.S. peacemakers it is a chance to meet and work with their strongest, closest, most necessary allies. It is a chance also to talk for peace from a position of strength in America. In Latin America peacemakers have stopped their dictators on the road to war. For example:

- **In Rosario, Argentina, 50,000 working men and women marched in the streets for peace, forced Peron to retract a promise to send troops to Korea.**
- **In Montevideo, Uruguay, the dockers' delegates at the Uruguay Peace Defenders Council declared no troops for Korea would pass through the port.**
- **In Puerto Rico 60% have failed to register for the draft.**
- **In Cuba, according to Newsweek: "Troops for Korea is the hottest issue on the island. With elections coming up next year no congressman would touch it. . . . Bohemia, the important weekly magazine, recently published a survey which showed that 70.24% of the people oppose it. Signs screaming 'No cannon fodder for the Yanqui imperialists' and 'No troops for Korea' decorate innumerable walls. . . . The people are bitterly opposed and uninterested in fighting."**
- **The petition for a five-power peace pact has already been signed by 3,000,000 Argentines, 500,000 Chileans, 215,000 Uruguayans. In many places in the Americas signers risk arrest, torture or death.**

Will North Americans in their comparative security and comfort do less? Shall we start the New Year right by doing everything in our power to make the International Conference cry for peace too loud to be ignored in Washington—so that the prayers of the GI's, who are being driven mad by the horrors of the carnage in Korea, may be answered?

●

The U. S. sponsoring committee of the Intercontinental Conference is asking organizations to send delegates, individuals to attend if they can or send funds to help others go. The address: Daniel Groden, secy., Intl. Peace Conf. Comm., 257 7th Av., N.Y.C.

PEACE BE WITH YOU IN 1952 —
AND YOUR RENEWAL BE WITH US . . .

Here's my 1952 renewal. Extend my sub one year from its present expiration date. Enclosed $2 plus ..... to help reach more homes with the Guardian in the coming year.

Name .....

Address .....

(include postal zone)

NATIONAL GUARDIAN
17 Murray St. New York 7, N. Y.

Behind Churchill's visit to the U. S.: Britain is a powderkeg of discontent

By Gordon Schaffer
GUARDIAN special correspondent

LONDON

WINSTON CHURCHILL goes to Washington in the midst of a domestic crisis which both his government and the Labour Party leaders know will burst within a matter of months. Inflation is now going on at both ends: wages are being increased (because the government dare not risk a clash with the powerful trade unions), while at the same time the share of the national resources taken by interest and profit also increases. Price rises for railway freights, coal and gas have begun, and before spring living costs will have overtaken the wage rises won by miners, railwaymen and engineers. Before civil servants, building workers and others now negotiating have won their improvements, the rank and file of railways, mines and engineering will be pressing their leaders for a new wages application.

The arms bill cannot be paid except by cutting the workers' living standards, and when the crisis bursts the government is prepared to enforce drastic retrenchment "to save the nation." Labour and trade union leaders face the dilemma that if they continue supporting arms expenditure at the present rate, they must join the government in attacking the standards of their members. But they know their members are not likely to accept this "solution."

BUTTER, PLEASE: Trade unionists are still bewildered at the course of world events. While they have swallowed a great deal of anti-Soviet propaganda, they just do not believe in the "Russian aggression threat" and therefore are not prepared to sacrifice butter for guns. Labour MP's are also revolting against the Party support for the arms program: so much so that at the last Parliamentary Labour Party meeting the leaders maneuvered to prevent a vote on rearmament because it was clear the figures would show the opponents of rearming are now a majority of the rank and file.

WINSTON CHURCHILL
When does the lid come off?

Meanwhile the arms program is already undermining the full employment which Labour boasted as its main achievement. With steel being diverted to arms factories, unemployment threatens in a whole range of peacetime industries. Japanese and West German competition slow down production of light engineering goods and textiles. The government already contemplates a form of labor control to force skilled workers from peace to war industry.

THEY WILL FIGHT: Some of the leaders think the unemployment threat will have emerged so clearly by the time the crisis breaks that it will be possible to force the unions to accept a lower living standard. This, I believe, is a big miscalculation. Britain's organized workers are conscious of their strength. They will force their leaders to fight. Before many months have passed, most of the unions will insist that the arms program must be revised as an alternative to cuts in living standards and social services. The Tories' attack on education—threatening the whole post-war system based on raising the school-leaving age to 15—has awakened millions to the dangers ahead.

The rank-and-file workers are not alone in the struggle against the crippling arms expenditure. British industrialists are angry at the embargoes on trade with Eastern Europe and China and at the way U.S. capital is building up West Germany and Japan as competitors. Tory MP Lord Hinchingbrooke spoke for a widening ruling-class section when in the Commons defense debate he condemned the rearming of West Germany and declared his "apprehension, as one who is half American, about the course of U.S. military policy."

After reading out the Churchill-Roosevelt-Stalin pledge to "disarm and disband all German armed forces and break up for all time the German General Staff," Hinchingbrooke said:

> "I could never understand what it was that induced Mr. Bevin . . . to yield the principle of German rearmament to the U.S. He got nothing out of it for this country in return. . . . He went to America in a sick condition. He was photographed there in a sleeping condition and suddenly he woke up to find the principle had been conceded."

GERMAN ARMS STORM: The movement of opinion on rearming Germany is significant. Two mass circulation papers, the **Sunday Pictorial** and **Daily Express**, have both denounced German rearmament in recent issues. Most startling was the first Labour Party political broadcast since the election, in which Hugh Dalton, minister in Attlee's Cabinet, fell off the fence with a resounding crash. In a statement which could not have been made without consultation with Morrison and Attlee, Dalton condemned German rearmament and the Churchill government for refusing to allow a debate on it before Parliament broke up. Bevin, said Dalton, opposed arming the Germans, thought them more dangerous than the Russians and only agreed under pressure to the "principle" of a German contribution to Western "defense." Dalton went on to warn that West Germans are openly out to regain territories now Czech, Polish and Russian, and that German rearmament might prove a step along the road to hell.

The conclusion is that the Labour Party within two months of its defeat has begun the process of going back on its support for foreign policies formulated by Churchill. There is, in fact, no other way in which the party can retain rank-and-file support. Leaders who fail to note the general indignation against rearming Germany—as shown, for example, in the protests staged all over Britain over Adenauer's visit and the Rommel film—will soon find themselves generals without armies. And Dalton always has his ear to the ground.

Daily Worker London

"Don't look now, but I think we're in a queue for that Rommel film."

(Continued from Page 1)

Washington 'midgets' alarm Europeans

ON Washington's European frontier, difficulties were such that one ECA official told the **Wall St. Journal**: "Maybe we're bucking history." Reported the **Journal** (Dec. 31):

> Privately the men who run President Truman's mammoth foreign aid project are beginning to despair—to feel that the multi-billion-dollar economic and rearmament program for Europe is going to fail.

Geoffrey Crowther, conservative editor of London's pro-U.S. **Economist**, urging reduction of military spending in a recent issue of **Look**, said European morale could not be maintained unless there were

> . . . some definite assurance that the vicious spiral of shortages and taxation and sacrifices is not going to go on spinning forever.

PEACE IN THE AIR: The "tribe of midgets" in Washington (Alsop brothers, Dec. 31) faced not only economic problems of the huge industrial machine they have geared to war, but a popular opposition to their war policy which continues to rise everywhere. The London **Observer** commented on the UN disarmament debate: "In so far as this is what the Americans call 'a battle for the minds of men' the West is being resoundingly defeated." UN General Assembly pres. Padilla Nervo told the press as the Assembly recessed for the holidays:

> "The mood of this Assembly reflects the manifest desire of all peoples for peace . . . the desire of the vast mass of people for conciliation is stronger than ever. You can feel that throughout the Assembly. It has not achieved realization but it is strong and pervades the entire atmosphere. This is the big story of this Assembly — this manifest feeling for conciliation and peace."

Against **Colliers** World War III issue, showing the "UN" defeat and occupation of the U.S.S.R., UN officials were forced by public opinion to lodge a formal protest. The issue, "which shocked many people in Europe who see it as an indication of war consciousness in the U.S." (N.Y. **Times**, Dec. 23), used the UN emblem without authorization. (**Colliers**' answer to UN's protest: the **Daily Worker** and Radio Moscow had voiced similar criticism.)

POPE SPEAKS OUT: The strength of anti-war feeling among peoples as well as the growing insecurity of the Vatican in the cold-war tension was reflected in the Christmas address of Pope Pius XII, who called the concept of an "armed truce" only "a solution which would deplete the economic forces and exhaust the nerves of the nations of the world." Referring coldly to the West as a "world which loves emphatically to call itself 'the free world'," the Pope sought to place the Church outside the opposing camps of the cold war. The usual editorials on papal utterances were notably absent from the U.S. press. In the Netherlands the Reform Church expressed "great fear and anxiety" over "mighty rearmament and menacing war preparations."

Washington's answer to the restiveness of its "free world" subjects was a further try to speed war preparations. Six of its European partners met in Paris in still another effort to hammer the proposed European Army into shape, but broke up after four days without concrete accomplishment. Western violation of the Italian peace treaty became final when Secy. Acheson handed the Italian Ambassador in Washington a note waiving some 29 of its clauses as "superfluous." The N.Y. **Herald Tribune** (Dec. 27) called the violation of the treaty and of the "gentlemen's agreement" on UN Security Council elections evidence of "a fresh and uninhibited approach." Welcoming back its four flyers released by Hungary after payment of $120,000 in fines, Washington shut Hungarian consulates in U.S. and banned travel in Hungary in a mood of retaliation.

A POW speaks for peace

At a general meeting of the "No. 12 Peace Committee" at a POW camp in N. Korea, Maj. Paul V. Liles of Birmingham, Ala. (one of the first POW names reported in the GUARDIAN) gives a report on world peace activities. Liles, who was U.S. adviser to the 2nd Regt., 6th Div. of the S. Korean Army, is president of the U.S.-British Prisoners' Peace Organization.

CHURCHILL'S MISSION: Announcement that the U.S. Sixth Fleet would visit Spanish ports in January set off speculation in Madrid as to whether Washington would back Franco's claim to take Gibraltar from Britain. Winston Churchill, one of the chief architects of Western war policy, was on his way to Washington to try to repair the ravages that policy has brought to Britain (see Schaffer, p. 3), confident that "his personality alone will suffice to compensate for the diminution of British influence in world politics since 1945" (**L'Observateur**, Paris, Nov. 15). The mission seemed doomed to failure unless Churchill answered the British people's demands for a negotiated settlement with the U.S.S.R. and for revival of Britain's economy through trade with the socialist world.

At home, too, Washington faced growing demands for settlement. In a letter to the Providence, R.I., **Journal** (Dec. 19) Adm. H. E. Yarnell, retired, former chief of the U.S. Asiatic Fleet, called the recent pacific editorial by William R. Matthews, editor of the

(Continued on Page 4)

Nation is shocked by murder of NAACP official in Florida

FROM 1939 until Christmas Day, 1951, Harry T. Moore, educator and school principal, campaigned actively for equal rights for Negroes in his native Florida. When he demanded that Negro teachers be paid the same as white he lost his job, but rose to be state coordinator for the Natl. Assn. for the Advancement of Colored People—the organization's only full-time post in the state. He was also exec. secy. of Florida's Progressive Voters League which worked for full Negro voting rights; led the fight against the state's white primary bill in 1947; took an active part in every case of police brutality. He worked the harder as racist violence increased: it seemed to reach a climax in the week-long Groveland riots of 1949, but captured more headlines this year in a Groveland aftermath and in a series of Miami bombings (11 blasts, no arrests) directed against a Negro housing project, synagogues and a Catholic church.

At Groveland one Negro was shot to death by a mob for suspected rape and three others arrested; rampaging whites burned six Negro homes, drove the entire Negro community from the town, were finally quelled by the National Guard. Last Nov. 6 while Sheriff Willis McCall was taking two of the arrested Negroes, Walter Irvin and Samuel Shepherd, from jail to court for a new trial ordered by the Supreme Court, he shot Shepherd dead; Irvin was shot three times but survived to charge that the shootings were in cold blood. A coroner's jury called it self-defense.

AN AMERICAN'S REWARD: Moore, who in 1949 wrote Gov. Fuller urging special protection for the two, stumped the state, addressed meetings, circulated petitions, in a campaign for McCall's indictment and prosecution. Three weeks ago he was the leading figure in an unsuccessful legal fight to prevent disfranchisement of 205 Negro voters (nearly half the town's total) in Altamonte Springs. A judge ruled they were no longer part of the community.

OPERATION KILLER Drawing by Morrill

At Christmas time Moore went to his home in the small town of Mims for an infrequent family reunion—his work kept him traveling for long periods, his wife and daughter teach school in different towns, his mother lives in Jacksonville, his wife's brother had been in Korea. For this Christmas they were all together. They retired early.

At 10:30 P.M. on Christmas night, Mims was rocked with an explosion. A whole side of Moore's white frame cottage had been blown out. Moore died on the way to a hospital; his wife is in critical condition with concussion and internal injuries. The mother and daughter escaped injury. A bomb had been placed under the house floor directly beneath Moore's bed.

"RECKLESS, WANTON FAILURE": Within 24 hours the greatest flood of protests in recent times descended on the President, the Atty General, Gov. Warren of Florida. Demands for action came from Americans of every political shade, organizations of every kind, pointing angrily to the dreary record of failure of government at any level to halt the increasing violence.

The NAACP offered a $5,000 reward for capture of Moore's killers, voted a contribution to restore the Moore home and aid the family, called upon all branches to hold memorial services Sunday, Jan. 6. Exec. secy. Walter White charged Gov. Warren with "consistently refusing to take any steps to uphold law and order," asked Atty. Gen. McGrath to receive a delegation from national and Florida organizations "to discuss steps which must be taken to end these outrages." On Thursday he flew to Florida for Moore's funeral, turned over to the FBI the names of three local suspects. In Tallahassee Gov. Warren, stung by White's charges, added fuel to anti-Negro feeling by calling him "a bigoted meddler for hi[re] who has come to Florida to try to stir up strife." White said he was not worried for his personal safety.

Atty. Gen. McGrath told newsmen "every facility of the FBI is being utilized to the fullest extent." The FBI, reportedly investigating the killing of Shepherd since early November, has still not issued a report in that case. Gov. Warren called the killing "not only murder but terrorism," offered a $2,000 reward for the killers. C. B. Baldwin, secy. of the Progressive Party, wired the President:

> It is obvious that state officials will simply go through the motions of investigating. . . . And it is now equally obvious that neither your attorney general, Mr. McGrath, nor your director of the FBI, Mr. Hoover, is either competent or willing to make the necessary investigation and carry through the prosecution of those responsible. . . .
>
> Mr. President, we of the Progressive Party demand that you fire Mr. McGrath and Mr. Hoover for their reckless and wanton failure to act. On Nov. 18, after the slaying of Mr. Shepherd, we urged you to appoint a commission of eminent citizens, Negro and white, armed with sufficient powers to investigate and prosecute the perpetrators of these vicious crimes against the Negro people. The brutal murder of Mr. Moore now makes this action all the more urgent.

NEW YORK SEQUEL: In New York on Sunday a delegation of six American Labor Party members called at the home of Rep. Charles A. Buckley (D-N.Y.) to seek his support in actions against the Florida violence. Through a closed door he shouted at them:

"If you ring the bell again I'll blow your brains out, you bastards. Go back to Russia, you sons of bitches."

(Continued from Page 3)

Tucson, Ariz., **Daily Star,** "the finest and wisest . . . I have read in many a day." Yarnell demanded that the U.S. work for "understanding with Russia," and added:

> It is a strange situation, when any sane man must realize that another total war means the destruction of civilization, that so many of our civil and military leaders from the President down, issue statements as to our rearmament plans, new weapons, etc., which add fuel to the flames. It is quite possible that the leaders of Russia do not want war. It is also quite possible that, Russian mental processes being what they are, they may interpret all of our preparation of war material as intended for aggression instead of defense and as a result start a "preventive" war.

Yarnell urged development of "enough public sentiment among our leading newspapers, legislators, and writers to start a campaign of publicity along the lines the article [by Matthews] suggests."

THE WORLD

Libya becomes 'free' amid Allied guns

HUNDREDS of children beat tambourines in Bengazi during Christmas week as King Idris I proclaimed the independence of the United Kingdom of Libya, the first nation created by UN.

As he spoke, British-officered troops of the independent state kept back the crowds. A short way down the coast engineers were busily improving the U.S. Wheelus airbase described by the N.Y. **Herald Tribune** as "framed by date palms and the Mediterranean . . . one of our largest installations in Africa, the handle of an umbrella that spreads over Europe and the Near East." The N.Y. **Times** pointed out that Wheelus Field is "within bomber-striking distance of the Soviet heartland."

On airstrips in the Fezzan oases the French held down their sector of the

A TOUAREG WOMAN IN LIBYA
A far way to go to freedom

independent kingdom.

OH, FREEDOM! Agreements were ready before the country's independence was declared, preserving the U.S.-British-French military occupation. King Idris's first official act was to ban an Independence Day speech by Beshir Bey Sadawi because of "anti-Western sentiment." His second was to appoint as prime minister Mohammed Muntassar Bey, a supporter of Mussolini when Libya was an Italian colony. A pro-government magazine **Al Libi** featured in its Independence Day issue a vehement attack on Libyan Jews.

An **AP** dispatch from Tripoli, Libya, reported "no evident enthusiasm in this, their largest city." Libya covers 1,100,000 square miles (more than Texas, Arizona, California and New Mexico); most of its 1,340,00 population (⅔ that of the Bronx) are illiterate; the average per capita income is $30 a year.

NOT PRECISELY: The question of Libya's independence came before UN in 1949 when the U.S.S.R. proposed immediate freedom, removal of all foreign troops and an advisory council on which the Soviets would serve with the other powers. The pro-U.S. majority ruled Russia out of the deliberations and devised the independence formula which came to Libya this Christmas.

Though U.S. officials and the press acclaimed it, the N.Y. **Times** headlined its story: "GRIM INDEPENDENCE ATTAINED BY LIBYA." The N.Y. **Herald Tribune** commented:

> Some nations have achieved independence and others have had it thrust upon them. . . . It is a strange and not precisely an auspicious birth.

Xmas SOS sent from Greek Dachau

SHORTLY before Christmas a letter smuggled out of prison on the Greek island of Corfu reached UN. It said:

> Coming generations will shudder when they learn what we have suffered here.

The letter—sent by Tony Ambatielos, leader of the Greek Seamen's Union—detailed torture by beatings, electric shock, hot coals, starvation; listed victims of firing squads and disease; declared they have had no help from the International Red Cross, and asked for medicine, food, clothing or immediate amnesty. Execution of Ambatielos, under death sentence for three years, has been prevented only by world protest.

From UN came no answer—but the Relief Committee of the League for Democracy in Greece issued a Christmas appeal to people everywhere to send their own. The committee (19 Beak St., London, W. 1, England), can ship in relief to prisoners through the Red Cross if funds are raised for food, medicine and blankets.

UNCLE HOLDS THE REINS: To Americans the appeal hit home since Greek jailers are not only paid out of U.S. Marshall Plan funds but take their orders directly from the U.S. mission. Last month Minister of Public Works Havinis complained that members of the U.S. mission

> ". . . have come to my ministry as dictators and I have ceased to act as a minister."

Later Greek Premier Gen. Nicholas Plastiras, and Havinis himself apologized for the outburst to U.S. Ambassador John E. Peurifoy.

Last September the Greeks defied heavy pressure and elected 10 political

prisoners to Parliament, including Ambatielos. Seven of them were released, journeyed to Athens where they were cheered in the streets. They were sworn in while right-wingers in Parliament shouted epithets. Later the electoral court ruled their election invalid.

FREEDOMS

SMITH ACT FOLLIES

A fault in Calif. is no fault in N.Y.

NO TWO JUDGES seem to agree on the Smith Act. Although the Supreme Court upheld its constitutionality, there were almost as many opinions as justices. In Los Angeles Federal Judge William C. Mathes dismissed as faulty indictments against 15 defendants there. Last week in New York Federal Judge Conger upheld almost identical indictments which had

(Continued on Page 6)

CHICAGO

De-housed families sit down for action

THE clock struck midnight in Mayor Kennelly's office in Chicago; the visitors who had come nearly 12 hours before to see the Mayor were still waiting. They were five complete families, including 20 children. The Mayor couldn't be found, they were told. They said they would stay until he was found, or until someone found them homes fit for human habitation.

Police had stationed themselves downstairs in City Hall to prevent anyone taking food to the "sit-downs," GUARDIAN correspondent Sidney Ordower reported. No one was allowed to go to the bathroom — until the kids started using cuspidors. To freeze them out, windows were opened; in answer, the children sang songs.

As one mother said: "The kids know what cold is—they might as well freeze here until something is done." The families, all of them Negro, had learned to live almost unprotected from Chicago's winter as residents of the Mecca Bldg. at 3338 S. State St., where many children have come down with serious illnesses and one old man died recently as a result of exposure.

HEAT IN CITY HALL: Soon after midnight the sit-down had results: the whole group was taken to the comfortable Grand Hotel in Chicago's Negro section for the night. Next day a larger delegation of indignant winterized Chicagoans turned up, spent the day camping in the warm City Hall lobby (see picture, p. 1). Meanwhile representatives of the Chicago Tenants & Consumers Council, Council for Labor Unity and Civil Rights Congress met with Kennelly's housing co-ordinator and secretary; at the day's end they gave in and moved the people at city expense into the Grand and similar hotels pending arrangements to locate them in decent permanent housing at

reasonable rent.

All major papers sent reporters to cover the City Hall sit-down. Dozens of pictures were taken. None appeared; the **Tribune** published a garbled story.

THE GHETTO: The Mecca Bldg. symbolizes the treatment of Negro families living in areas taken over by the Illinois Inst. of Technology, New York Life Insurance and other agencies. In Chicago nearly half a million Negroes are confined mainly to a 7-sq.-mile area. (Richmond, Va., has a population of 180,000 over an area of 22 sq. miles.) To meet the emergency housing situation, 272,000 new units are needed.

Main reason for the emergency is the city's refusal to build units on vacant land, since this would open up new areas to the Negro community. Instead, slum clearance programs have been launched before adequate relocation housing is available. Result: less housing and creation of new slums. At the same time the city has let Illinois Tech. and other agencies expand their facilities in the South Side, almost invariably where Negro families live. New York Life has been given the green light to demolish housing for 3,850 Negro families and build 1,450 high-rent units. Despite solemn relocation promises to families in the way of these projects, the practice has been to drive them out by cutting off water, heat and electricity and by knocking out windows and doors.

The sit-down of the Mecca Bldg. women and children has started something in Chicago. Heartened by the results of their determination, the organizations aiding their fight were last week putting pressure on the Mayor's office to come through on the rest of the agreement to house the extreme victims of the housing snafu.

CARL MARZANI ANSWERS THE QUESTION

What about political prisoners in the U. S. A.?

Carl Marzani, son of Italian immigrants who fled fascist Italy, was a brilliant student at Williams College and Oxford, a teacher at New York University and the holder of a splendid record in World War II in which he served as a member of the OSS. After the war he worked in the State Dept. from which he was "fired" a month after his resignation was submitted and accepted. After he produced a film for the United Electrical Workers ("Deadline for Action") which attacked big business control of the U.S. economy, charges were filed against him accusing him of "defrauding" the government by assertedly giving false information about his political connections. He had been cleared by the FBI and the Civil Service Commission. He was convicted and sentenced to three years in prison—one of the first victims of the "loyalty" witch hunt. The Supreme Court split twice 4-4 on his case; prominent persons petitioned for his parole, but he was required to serve the full term.

By Carl Marzani

"CARL," he said, "why don't you promise to behave?"

The speaker was my parole adviser in the federal jail at Danbury. He was being helpful; I was coming before the Parole Board and it was his official business to help me get a parole.

"But I have," I said, and pointed to a paragraph in the application where I stated my intention to abide fully by the laws of the U.S.

"That's not what I mean," he said.

"What do you mean?"

"Oh, you know." He was getting impatient.

"I think I know, but you tell me."

He wouldn't. So, to make sure there would be no misunderstanding, I spelled it out for him.

"You mean I should promise not to be a radical?"

He grunted satisfaction.

"No more political speeches?"

"That's the idea."

"No more political writings?"

"Right."

WHY RAT IN JAIL? "Maybe a little co-operation with the FBI?"

He realized I was kidding him. "You're impossible," he said angrily. "I'm only trying to help you."

"I know, I know. But if I'm to rat, why go to jail in the first place? Do you think for a moment I couldn't have made a deal with the FBI or the government **before** coming to jail?"

"Nonsense!"

"Perhaps. But let me ask you this: Do you believe I would be law-abiding if released?"

"Yes," he said, "I think so."

"Okay. Now, isn't that the basic condition of parole? If you were sure the prisoners here would be law-abiding, wouldn't you recommend parole for all of them? Wou'dn't that be a triumph of rehabilitation?"

"What's the point?"

"The point is, why the political conditions for me?"

"Look," he said wearily, "I'm only trying to help."

"By the way," I asked, "is this an official request of the Parole Board?"

"Not at all," he said stiffly. The interview was as good as over.

CARL MARZANI
The conviction is profound

HE DIDN'T CHANGE: Parole was denied. There were protests. The New York Council of the Arts, Sciences and Professions sponsored a delegation of protest to the Federal Parole Board in Washington. The delegation met with chairman Killinger, who made no bones about his antagonism. Marzani, he said, would get no parole because "his attitude hadn't changed." He still had "the same ideas."

The delegation spokesman was Owen Middleton, an older man, mildly-spoken, gentle mannered. But he doesn't scare easily: in his youth he was an IWW and was jailed in the Palmer raids. He told Killinger off. He hammered away at the admission that I was being held for my political views and said:

"Marzani is not going to change his views to suit you or the government. He's not a man to change ideas because of your pressures. That's why he has our respect, that's why we're here. As for the Parole Board you should be ashamed of yourselves. You talk about democracy yet you keep a man in jail because of his ideas."

Killinger refused to discuss the matter further—the same Killinger who granted embezzler ex-Congressman Parnell Thomas parole even though Thomas hadn't even paid his fine. One wonders: did Killinger ask Thomas to change his ideas . . . or are Thomas' ideas perfectly palatable to him?

THE JOB TO DO: All denials to the contrary, there are political prisoners in America today. The authorities are conscious of this fact; they act on it. The last Wardens' Conference of the Bureau of Prisons discussed how to handle political prisoners and the great influx expected.

If progressives do their job, they can keep on expecting. The people of the U.S. do not like the idea of political prisoners. The job is to make them realize that there are such people. In jail I found that prison authorities themselves were disturbed about what is happening, particularly as they came to know the political prisoners. They didn't do anything about it. I received no special consideration. In fact, of 30 months in jail, seven were spent in semi-isolation on one excuse or another. But the fact remains that many didn't like their job as regards the political cases.

The existence of political prisoners exposes the true nature of our government's policies. It provides a stepping stone for the rational discussion of any other problems: the drive to war, high taxes, high prices, the undermining of our living standards.

IN THE TRADITION: We must constantly remind people of the extent and ferocity of the political persecution taking place every day. We must also clarify our own thinking of what constitutes political persecution. The death sentence against the Rosenbergs, for example, is a political sentence. It is a savage, un-American sentence demanded by an Administration which has been giving clemency to the most brutal Nazi militarists as a first step toward using them at their old trade.

The GUARDIAN has done magnificent work in clarifying and exposing the nature of political persecutions. The articles on the Rosenbergs were in the highest tradition of a fighting, democratic press. They are now in a pamphlet which can be used far and wide to expose the depravity of our mink-coat Administration. It is my profound conviction that there is a tremendous groundswell against the reaction and corruption of our times. The role of progressives everywhere is to channelize this resentment. It is a proud role, and a happy one.

The stink of mink

T. Lamar Caudle, the mink-scarred Asst. U.S. Attorney General who was booted out by the President in the tax scandal inquiry, was chief of the Justice Dept.'s criminal division at the time of Marzani's indictment. In this office he greased the ways for Atty. Gen. Tom Clark's persecution of Marzani.

U. S. fails to silence genocide charges

IN Paris on Dec. 17 William L. Patterson, exec. secy of the Civil Rights Congress, presented to UN General Assembly pres. Padilla Nervo and Secy.-Gen. Lie a 240-page petition entitled **We Charge Genocide,** seeking relief from "the crime of government against the Negro people." The Assembly adjourned four days later for the holiday season; Patterson stayed on for its reconvening in January to press for investigation and action.

Last week the U.S. Embassy in Paris ordered Patterson to surrender his passport. Patterson's reply: No.

Officials pointed out that the Embassy has no power to seize a passport; even an expired passport can only be limited to use "for return to the U.S." if it is presented for renewal. The Embassy itself declined comment.

PEACE

PP launches drive for Big 5 talks

FOR A FIRST STEP in the 1952 Presidential election campaign, the Progressive Party last week was getting under way a coast-to-coast petition drive urging a Big Power Conference to ease world strains and prevent a world war. In a joint statement, Elmer A. Benson, chairman, and C. B. Baldwin, secy., charged that such a conference is being prevented only by the "obstinate refusal" of President Truman and Secy. of State Acheson. They cited the recent Gallup poll that showed a 70% majority in favor of the proposal (a poll of 2,500 University of Wisconsin students by a campus peace group got a 92% favorable response).

The PP leaders sent this petition to the President and to all members of Congress:

We, the people of the United States of America, believe that peace is the most important issue of 1952. We believe with the people of all nations and their leaders that peace can and must be reached by agreement now. We seek an end to the intolerable burdens of higher taxes and higher prices that will leave us bankrupt. We want an end to the fears of atomic destruction.

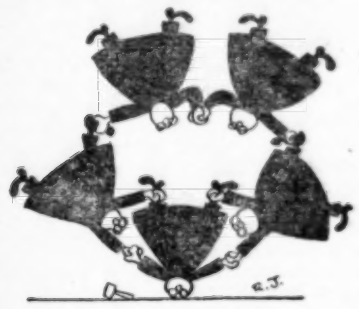
We, therefore, respectfully and earnestly call on the President to convene a Conference of the Great Powers—the U.S., Britain, France, Russia and China—to reach an agreement that will end the threat of war and the bankruptcy of continued armament.

A national signature campaign in the cultural and professional fields, calling upon President Truman to initiate peace negotiations among the major powers, was announced last week by the National Council of the Arts, Sciences and Professions. The campaign will be conducted by councils of the ASP in major cities across the country.

(Continued from Page 4)

been challenged on the same grounds as in California.

Judge Conger also rejected defense motions to dismiss the indictments on several other grounds, including charges that the indicting grand jury contained no Negroes, no manual workers; that evidence had been obtained illegally by wire-tapping; that the statute of limitations invalidated the indict-



ments. He also refused the defendants a bill of particulars, but granted them the right to examine documents the government had presented to the grand jury. A trial date will be set later.

"THE AFORESAID OVERTHROW": Judge Mathes had dismissed the indictments for failure to show either intent on the part of the defendants or a clear and present danger, gave the government ten days to draw up new ones. Last week the government brought in the revised ones, amended by the inclusion of one clause to take care of both points; they charge the defendants knowingly violated the Smith Act

> **. . . with the intent of causing the aforesaid overthrow and destruction of the government of the U. S. by force and violence as speedily as circumstances would permit.**

The defense promptly moved to quash; argument was set for Jan. 3. The 15 remained free on $5,000 and $10,000 bail.

HALL: 3 YEARS MORE: In New York Gus Hall, national secretary of the Communist Party who failed to surrender last July 2 to begin serving a five-year term under the Smith Act, was sentenced to serve an extra three years on a charge of criminal contempt of court .The sentencing judge conceded no precedent for such a conviction (GUARDIAN, Dec. 26), but ruled that "the courts have power to compel respect." The conviction will be appealed.

In Chicago Rep. Adolph J. Sabath (D-Ill.) told a labor delegation he will introduce a bill to repeal the Smith Act.

Are you an alien?

The McCarran Law requires all non-citizens to register between Jan. 1 and 10. If you're an alien, the GUARDIAN recommends:

1. Get and fill in the form obtainable at any post office.

2. Get together with every red-blooded person you know (this includes Americans, Africans, Chinese and Yap Islanders) to make 1952 McCarran Act Repeal Year.

EDUCATION

Wiggins firing stirs Minnesota U. furore

IN 1946 DR. FORREST O. WIGGINS became the first Negro in the U. S. to be appointed to the faculty of a state university when he was named an instructor in philosophy at the University of Minnesota. Each year since then Dr. George P. Conger, his department head, has recommended Dr. Wiggins' promotion. Promotion was never granted, but he did receive three merit increases in salary. He became a vice-president of the Minnesota Progressive Party. Last spring he was one of four U of M educators to speak on "Conflict in the Social Order" at a student-sponsored affair.

When the University later sought funds from the State Legislature, it was reported that a copy of Dr. Wiggins' speech was on each legislator's desk. The University's budget was trimmed. On Dec. 12 Dr. Wiggins received notice he would not be reappointed next fall.

AND BESIDES . . . : Under the University's tenure regulations, no reason need be given for dismisal within seven years. But Dr. Wiggins charged his firing was political, quoted Dean E. W. McDiarmid of the college of science, literature and arts as accusing him of a "lack of scholarship and following the Communist line." His department head and all his colleagues in the department refuted the first charge. To refute the second, he was asked to write his "credo," which he did. Then he was asked "to write out the Communist line and tell where I deviated from it." This he declined to do on the grounds that, never having been a Communist, he didn't know the "line." He asked:

> **"Does a man have a right to views which do not agree with those of a Republican-dominated legislature? It appears that if a man dissents from the ideology of the dominant political group he cannot hold a job in an American university."**

As for his politics, he was frank:

> **"I am a socialist in that I believe in state ownership of the means of production. I believe that the people should have control of their economic destiny, the same as their political destiny."**

STUDENTS PROTEST: Within a week the Wiggins firing became the newest and hottest issue of academic freedom in the U. S. Faculty members protested, students circulated petitions, called a campus protest rally. University president J. L. Morrill denied that the dismissal was dictated by members of the legislature, but one member publicly applauded the move. A week ago the board of regents unanimously approved the dismissal. The philosophy dept. cited a survey of 226 students who commended Dr. Wiggins as a teacher, drew up a new statement backing him, sent a copy to the American Assn. of University Professors which promptly held a hearing on the cast. Last week the fight was just getting started. Elmer Benson, natl. chairman of the Progressive Party, called the dismissal

> **. . . a shocking attack on academic freedom. But I am sure that the people of Minnesota will demand a reversal of this injustice.**

GUS HALL
A precedent is set

Christians, take care

BRIEFLY, we have considered all the objections against modern war and have declared that the refusal to participate is legitimate if this war is one of aggression. The qualifications of the Holy Father and Monsignor Ottaviani on the immorality of aggressive war are plainly applicable in this case. . . . For these reasons we say: if anyone today wishes to wage a war against Russian bolshevism under the pretext of a crusade, or against American capitalism in the name of freedom for the worker and social justice, Christians must take care. They must not be taken in by propaganda, by what we call a welter of fear. They must not be hypnotized by high sounding words or brilliant orators. In your conscience say: aggressive war is illegitimate, and become, without exception, conscientious objectors.

. . . But some will say: what if we make a preventive war, a war against an enemy who is on the point of attacking us without just cause: who will soon make aggressive war, which we condemn; who will win precisely because he fights a war of aggression, which gives such a tremendous advantage, and immediate results, in the war of today with its atomic bomb; who can momentarily make war and paralyze all the centers of the nation. Therefore, when one is sure of the goodness of his cause and of the future attack, can't he act as if it had already taken place and begin a preventive war?

Hitler could have made the same case out for his attack on Russia. At all times the Russian troops were ready for action. It was always possible, but never certain. Can it be sure? We hold that a preventive war is not legitimate and that an individual has no right to participate in it.

From "Can a Christian be a Conscientious Objector," by Pierre Lorson, S.J., published under the imprimatur of the Vicar General of Paris, 1950; reprinted in the Catholic Worker, *N. Y., July-Aug., 1951.*

CALENDAR

Los Angeles

TODAY'S NEWS ANALYZED with discussion in Town Meeting tradition. MARTIN HALL every Monday night at ASP Council, 7410 Sunset, 8 p.m. GR 4188. Donation: 60c.

Berkeley, Calif.

WHAT'S BEHIND THE NEWS? Hear Sidney Rogers, commentator. Tuesdays, 8:15 p.m. Starting Jan. 8. Arts, Sciences & Prof., 3015 Shattuck Av. Berkeley. Donation: 50c.

Chicago

FILM FORUM OF CHICAGO presents movies every Friday, 8:15 p.m. at People's Auditorium, 2457 W. Chicago. Features for Jan. 11: **RAZZIA** (new post-war German film), **TARAS FAMILY** (U.S.S.R.).

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LABOR

'Business-in-govt.' left to fix steel wage

PHILIP Murray, pres. of the CIO and the CIO Steel Workers, last week put the finishing touches to his pattern for collective bargaining in steel.

Last winter Murray and other top CIO-AFL leaders walked out of the Wage Stabilization committees in open rebellion. By early spring they were back with no demands won and with the WSB's authority extended to settle labor disputes, a point which Murray had quietly advocated earlier. The GUARDIAN (Mar. 21, 1951) summed up the net result:

> In effect it would reduce collective bargaining to a lawyer's argument before a tribunal composed of businessmen, business-in-government and officially licensed labor leaders. It would brand most strikes as defiance of a government agency.

At CIO's October convention Murray vowed the steelworkers would break the WSB wage-freeze when negotiations started for a new contract Jan. 1.

LEAVE IT TO WSB: Placards on plant walls demanded at least a 30c-an-hour raise. Before negotiations began in Pittsburgh Murray's bargaining demand had been whittled down to 15c. When U. S. Steel pres. Benjamin Fairless, going through the motions of collective bargaining, said the matter "will have to be decided finally in Washington," Murray scathingly denounced him.

The motions continued to an apparent deadlock. Murray called an emergency convention for Jan. 3, said he had no power to call off the strike set for New Year's Day, that only the convention could decide.

President Truman asked that both sides leave the matter with WSB and keep the mills going meanwhile. Behind him, as he made his request, he held the Taft-Hartley club that could enjoin a strike, but he had no occasion to wield it. Murray last week cheerfully recalled that he did have power to call off the strike until the convention meets. There seemed little doubt that the convention would approve a Murray recommendation to leave the matter with WSB.

"DO COME, BEN": Theoretically WSB's recommendations will not be binding. But Federal Mediation Director Cyrus Ching said when the strike was called off:

> "The force of public opinion makes it extremely difficult for either party to fail to carry out recommendations made by a government agency like the Wage Stabilization Board."

The collective bargaining pattern developed yet another twist when Murray formally invited U. S. Steel's Fairless to come to the union's emergency convention, talk to the membership and "participate in the discussion."

Congress is blamed in 119 mine deaths

ADLAI Stevenson, campaigning for the governorship in Illinois in 1948, pledged: "I'm going to see to it that Centralia never happens again." Centralia is the town where 111 miners died in the pits in 1947.

Last week as the Governor and Walter Eadie, head of the State Mining Dept., walked through West Frankfort, Ill., a miner's widow stopped weeping and shouted: "Get out of here!"

Another mine disaster had killed 119.

The blame did not rest on the Governor alone. Last spring the U. S. Bureau of Mines reported that 73% of its proposals for mine safety had been ignored by Illinois companies.

NOBODY CARED: In July two federal mine inspectors had warned the Chicago, Wilmington and Franklin Co. that Orient No. 2 was too hazardous to work, that several diggings where dangerous gas had accumulated would have to be abandoned. Mine Supt. John R. Foster called the recommendation "controversial." The Illinois Dept. of Mines and Minerals, which has the power to enforce recommendations, failed to act.

At every session of Congress in the last decade bills giving the federal government power to enforce safety recommendations have been filed and buried.

IN WEST FRANKFORT
He will not return

United Mine Workers pres. John L. Lewis emerged from a tour of Orient No. 2 last week, his face grimed and solemn. He said:

> "I only wish those members of Congress who have consistently blocked the enactment of a statute giving the Federal Bureau of Mines enforcement powers could be here in person and look into the faces of these terribly mangled mine workers who have died at Orient No. 2. I am sure they would forever afterward have trouble living with their own consciences, and might be induced to permit coal miners to continue to live while they continue to draw their salaries as members of Congress.
>
> "It is a sad commentary that so many men have to die and so many widows and orphans be created before certain types of politicians will even give consideration to the right of coal miners to have security while they produce the commodity upon which our economy is based."

There was unconfirmed talk of a nation-wide 10-day no-work mourning period in the coal fields.

Israel strikers leave

TWO weeks ago police swooped on two ships in Baltimore harbor, rushed 59 crewmen to Ellis Island. Those taken were Israeli strikers aboard the S Yaffo and Haifo. The Israeli Seamen's Union has been on strike against the Histadrut, which is both the union's parent organization (a labor federation) and the major stockholder in the shipping company.

The union seeks the right to negotiate for itself and run its own hiring hall rather than have Histadrut act as boss and negotiator too. Strikers in Haifa—most of them former fighters against the British—were denounced by Histadrut as communists; they had to battle police in fire boats and ashore.

U. S. agents of Histadrut manned the Yaffo and Haifo with scab seamen. Meanwhile the strikers, while protesting U. S. interference in their strike, signed volutary departure papers so as to join their brothers on the Haifa waterfron They sailed for home last week.

Meany's vanishing buffer

GEORGE Meany, AFL secy.-treas. and a leader of U. S. labor's own worldwide "containment-of-communism" program, returned from Europe last week reporting:

> "Europeans are soft on the issue of communism. You are given the feeling that only Americans are worried about communism."

The AFL had considered appropriating $700,000 in a "labor's point four program" to build "buffers against communism." Gloomy Meany last week said AFL might reconsider. Singling out the French in particular, he said:

> "They are certainly not appreciative on any level."

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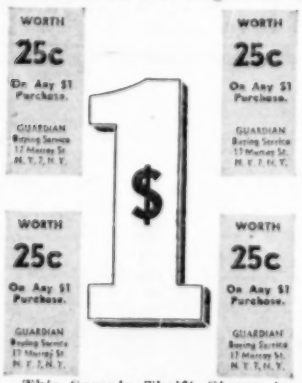

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W. E. B. DuBOIS REVIEWS

The rise of American Negroes

By W. E. B. DuBois

HERBERT APTHEKER has become in the last years one of our foremost authorities on many important aspects of the history of the Negro in America. His studies of neglected phases of this history, like the slave revolts, has not only brought new light to bear but employed methods of historical research which have too often been lacking in the past. The use of the historical method for defense or attack in controversy is understandable, but does not bring that balanced judgment which historical science seeks. This book is a documented history done with calm and critical judgment. Some of the material is new and some has been known, but used for argument, biography or mere curiosity; and printed in part or with irrational extracts.

Particularly have these documents often been treated as of no human or social value, but as curiosities from persons who were not to be regarded seriously as contributing to knowledge of the evolution of society. At the same time there has always been and is still deep scientific curiosity on the reaction which the oppressed show to oppression; together with the wide assumption that in this case testimony was unobtainable because American slaves were so widely illiterate.

1661 TO 1910: Aptheker, by carefully selecting known, little known and almost unknown examples of Negro thinking and writing, has thrown new light on the reaction of American Negroes to man-stealing, chattel slavery and color caste. Of the authenticity of these documents, the author's scholarship leaves no doubt. To this he has added a rare felicity of choice and omission. For surely, with the mass of matter which he has unearthed, the problem of omission must have been baffling. But he has held himself rigorously to his ideal of painting a continuing picture of emotion and change; or action and reaction; of knowledge and ignorance of the surrounding world. His selections are calculated to follow and illustrate the development of American history from 1661 to 1910—from the time of tne early slave trade to the founding of the NAACP. This has called for wide and long research and editing; balanced judgment, and clear English. His object is thus set forth:

> This work attempts, within the limits of half a million words, to present the essence of the first three hundred years of the history of the American Negro people. This is done through the words of Negro men, women and children themselves . . .
>
> These are the words of participants, of eye-witnesses. These are the words of the very great and the very obscure; they are the words of the mass. This is how they felt; this is what they saw; this is what they wanted . . .
>
> It is what the masses endure, how they resist, how they struggle that forms the body of true history. It is the coming into being, the bringing forth of the new —including the old, but the old as it is pregnant with the new—that is the heart of true history.

A RICH FIELD: Aptheker then proceeds to present a series of documents covering eight eras: Revolutionary, Early National, Abolitionist, Civil War, Reconstruction, Post-Reconstruction, Imperialism, and the Twentieth Century. Each era is preceded by an explanatory statement, covering the general situation of the period, and indicating sources. These are supplemented by notes on each set of selections.

HERBERT APTHEKER
The documents are human

Some extracts from these papers may illustrate the wealth of material. In 1779 two Negroes write to the General Assembly of Connecticut:

> . . we beg leave to submit, to your Honours serious Consideration, whether it is consistent with the present Claims, of the United States, to hold so many Thousands, of the Race of Adam, our Common Father, in perpetual Slavery. Can human Nature endure the Shocking Idea?

In 1792 Benjamin Banneker wrote to Thomas Jefferson:

> This, Sir, was a time when you clearly saw into the injustice of a state of slavery, and in which you had just apprehensions of the horror of its condition. It was now that your abhorrence thereof was so excited, that you publicly held forth this true and invaluable doctrine, which is worthy to be recorded and remembered in all succeeding ages: "We hold these truths to be self-evident, that all men are created equal; that they are endowed by their Creator with certain unalienable rights, and that among these are, life, liberty, and the pursuit of happiness" . . .
>
> Here was a time, in which your tender feelings for yourselves had engaged you thus to declare, you were then impressed with proper ideas of the great violation of liberty, and the free possession of those blessings, to which you were entitled by nature; but, Sir, how pitiable is it to reflect, that although you were so fully convinced of the benevolence of the Father of Mankind, and of his equal and impartial distribution of these rights and privileges, which he hath conferred upon them, that you should at the same time counteract his mercies, in detaining by fraud and violence so numerous a part of my brethren, under groaning captivity, and cruel oppression . . .

150 YEARS AGO: A rebel writes in 1802:

> Black men if you have now a mind to join with me now is your time for freedom. All clever men who will keep secret these words I give to you is life. I have taken it on myself to let the country be at liberty this lies upon my mind for a long time. Mind men I have told you a great deal I have joined with both black and white which is the common man or poor white people, mulattoes will Join with me to help free the country, although they are free already. I have got 8 or 10 white men to lead me in the fight on the magazine, they will be before me and hand out guns, powder, pistols, shot and other things that will answer the purpose . . . black men I mean to lose my life in this way if they will take it.

An informer replies:

> . . watch they conduc of your Negroes and you will see an alteration. I am confident of the leaders and can not give you my name. I am also a greater friend to some of the Whites, and wish to preserve their lives. I am a favorite Servant of my Master and Mistis, and love them dearly.

Contrast this with the manifesto of the Niagara movement 102 years later:

> Courage, brothers! The battle for humanity is not lost or losing. All across the skies sit signs of promise. The Slav is raising in his might, the yellow millions are tasting liberty, the black Africans are writhing toward the light, and everywhere the laborer, with ballot in his hand, is voting open the gates of Opportunity and Peace. The morning breaks over blood-stained hills. We must not falter, we may not shrink. Above are the everlasting stars.

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A DOCUMENTARY HISTORY OF THE NEGRO PEOPLE IN THE UNITED STATES. Ed. by Herbert Aptheker. Citadel Press, N.Y. 942 pp. $7.50

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we are for peace — they for war;
we are for plenty — they for profit;
we are for man — they for race;
we are for love — they for hate.

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—Norm Daguerre

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